

A
*C48 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Heki-
*175 richi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni
166 had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and
Otohe were any natives to be found. And even this
small number was steadily diminishing as can be found
in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred
not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved
inland and very few are seen these days." According to

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*C48 a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae
*175 consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses
166 and three villages.³⁰ The reasons for this decline of
the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese
but also have their cause in the spread of contagious
diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a
foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century.
The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa
and Otohe are almost gone, many having died of small-
pox and measles." The decrease in population frus-
trated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government
and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought
them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in
the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special
treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The
Ezo Dan Hikki shows this contrast when, in regard to
the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there
is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands.
Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring
with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living
near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the
daimyō. But while they work some of the land they
do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—
fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting
firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary sub-
stitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents
in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Pay-
ment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae
were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a
five x six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers
while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven
bundles each." These payments applied to those who
had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in
Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and
on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae
control and had just begun to trade and although in-
volved in disputes with each other were independent.
The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political
relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have
the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of
1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control
and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Jap-
anese jurisdiction in 1799.

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*C48 When all the above facts are considered it seems that
*175 the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native
177 control.

³⁰ Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on
answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai*
Kanki (Census of the Matsumae domain).

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needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

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This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu" but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

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* Azuma Ebisu was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

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 *698 After the Bakufu intervened, more and more of the
 *175 Kunashiri Ezo remained on their own island to fish,
 [161] and the population which had been some 300 in 1799
 [51] increased to over 530 by 1801.²² This situation did
 not, as we shall see later, mean that the Ezo were better
 off, since it only helped their masters to accelerate the
 destruction of those natural resources upon which the
 Ezo depended for their livelihood; yet it does serve as
 a proof that better treatment of the Ezo brought about
 an improvement in industry. Farming was also en-
 couraged by the Bakufu where the Matsumae had
 discouraged it. Indeed, in some *Basho* it had been
 entirely prohibited since it required work during the
 fishing season. Even after the Bakufu took over the
 islands the economy was based on hunting and fishing
 and, since these products were abundant, there was no
 need to farm. But the popular Japanese belief of the time
 was that eating meat was barbaric and eating cereals
 was civilized, and therefore it was felt that a change in
 the eating habits of the Ezo would be a step toward
 assimilation.²³ In order to encourage farming, crops
 were raised near the agency as an example and the Ezo
 were urged to take an interest.²⁴ They were also
 constantly indoctrinated in the view that living on
 cereals was far superior to living on meat. According
 to a report made by Aoyagi Teichi in 1799, farming
 implements and seed were given to the Ezo at Shamani
 at their own request. While it seems that the crops
 grown by the *Kaikō* did not turn out satisfactorily,²⁵ it
 was not this that eventually dampened the Bakufu's
 enthusiasm for agriculture but the growing opinion
 which held that if you changed the Ezo to farmers and
 the experiment did not result satisfactorily you would
 have a famine.²⁶ Mulling this over the Bakufu aban-
 doned its positive attitude toward farming in 1802.
 Actually it seems that the real reason the government
 changed its mind was that it did not favor anything
 which required more of a labor force than did hunting

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²² Kunashiri to ittai no yosu moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Re-
 port on the general situation in and around Kunashiri Island)
 in *SHS* 5: 800.

²³ "Methods of cultivation shall be taught gradually so that
 they will learn to live on cereals. They shall also be educated
 so as to be accustomed to the laws of Japan." Ezochi goyō
 shui shihaimuki ei moshiwatasare sōrō kakitori (Notes on in-
 structions to managers on the occasion of Ezo becoming a
 Bakufu domain), Suppl. 8 of *Kyumei Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 800.

²⁴ "Care shall be exercised in encouraging the Ezo to take up
 cultivation. For the time being our retainers and servants shall
 set an example, near their lodgings, by tilling the land so
 that the Ezo will gradually become interested in the work."
Ibid. 5: 558.

²⁵ "According to instructions small patches of land have been
 put into cultivation in Urakawa, Harato, and Shamani where
 fairly good results were had on soy beans, Indian beans, millet,
 barnyard grass, sesame, red saffron, hemp, upland rice, barley,
 eggplant, squash, radishes, vegetables, and cowpea. The results
 from red saffron and hemp were especially good." *Ibid.* 5: 565.

²⁶ "Mumei no gososhō ittashi sōrō mono kore ari osage ni
 ainaru gotōsho no ikken," *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 2 in *SHS* 5:
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INTRODUCTION

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Although at one time the Ainu were very numerous, the census taken in 1923 gave their number as only 15,461. Of these 7,430 were males and 8,031 females; living in 3,504 houses. At the present time they are said to be 300 less than then. They are decreasing somewhat rapidly, some dying off and others marrying with the Japanese. Government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate. But nothing can now avert their doom. They must soon be quite of the past. And they will depart without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world. One feels very sorry for them, but the laws of nature are inexorable and must take their course.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE ORIGIN OF THE AINU, AND THE CREATION

The problem of the origin of the Ainu is still un-101
certain and one does not care to theorize on the matter
just yet. It is therefore the purpose of the present
chapter to give the simple Ainu version of the matter.
Their ideas on the subject are very quaint and simple
and most characteristic, and it is these I intend to set
forth as much as possible in their own language,
simply and truthfully translated.

Many of the old people believed that their ancestors 173
were descended from one whom they called Aeoina
Kamui, i.e. "The Divine Tradition Holder," not,
indeed, by way of natural generation, but as being in
the first instance created by him. Although he him-
self is spoken of as divine, yet he was sent by the
Supreme God of Heaven with full instructions as to
how to form people, teach them how to make and use
useful instruments and implements, instruct them in
hunting and fishing, and how to make fetishes and
worship the various deities and perform religious rites
and ceremonies. And so it comes to pass that he is
always spoken of with great respect. I have never
heard him worshipped by name, but I suspect many
do pray to him on occasion. How he stopped cannibalism
among them was mentioned in a former chapter.

The Ainu admit that their race is not nearly so 161 ●
numerous as it used to be. Even since my first arrival
I have seen whole villages disappear. The people
grieve over this, but have settled down to accept the
fact, in despair of ever rising again.

- 161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.
- 177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is
[262] too much blood-relationship among them, through in-
161 termarriage between people of their own village or
[582] district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good
[165] deal of child mortality among them, and many of the
842 women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese themselves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing
[144] number now of half-breeds, and among those called
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ORIGIN OF AINU, AND CREATION

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Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu.

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The following folk-lore, showing how Aeoina, after doing what he was set to do on earth, forgot himself so far as to return to heaven unwashed and clothed in his old earthly garments, and was therefore sent back again to wash and change, is interesting.

"The divine Aeoina is called *Ainu rak-guru* by some, and this means 'Person Smelling of Men.' This is the way he came by such a name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first man, he stayed on earth with him for a very long time, teaching him and his children how to hunt and live. While in the world he lived just as the people did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing as they. When he had finished all that had been given him to do, he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his earthly garments. On reaching Paradise, all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking into one another's faces, exclaimed, 'Dear! dear! What a strong smell of men there is! Whence can it come?' On making a closer inspection they found it to come from Aeoina, who still had his earthly garb on. He was therefore requested to go back to earth immediately and divest himself of his human clothes. Having done so, he returned once again to heaven, and lo, the smell of men had departed from him!"

Here is another peculiar story about Aeoina making man. It runs thus:

"When Aeoina made man he formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his backbone of a stick of willow. When, therefore, a person grows old his back bends in the middle." The same story variously told is as follows:

"After the world had been created and set in order, God made many herbs and trees to grow out of the

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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The principal Japanese settlements are Sapporo, Hakodate, and Nemuro. The population of the island is confined almost entirely to the coast. Small villages of Japanese and Ainos are scattered along the coast a few miles apart, wherever the locations are favorable for fishing or collecting seaweed. On the northeast coast the principal towns are Mombetsu, Abashiri, and Shari. Between Hakodate and Nemuro are Kushiro, Horoidzumi, Tomakomai, and Horobetsu. On some of the larger rivers, as the Ishikari, the Kusuri, and the Tokachi, there are small settlements of Ainos. On routes of travel far up in the mountains there will be found isolated stations, where one can obtain shelter and food with changes of horses. Otherwise the interior is an uninhabited wilderness, the abode of bears, foxes, and other animals.

The total population of the Hokkaido, which is the official designation of that section of Japan which includes Yezo and the islands off the northeast coast, is stated as 236,236. I am unable to state the number of persons on the island of Yezo alone, but there are very few on Kumashiri and Yeterof, and the Kuriles are practically uninhabited. Of this number about 16,000 are said to be Ainos. The distribution of the Aino population will be more fully considered in another place.

The principal support of this population is the fisheries, which are of great value. The following statistics of the fisheries were kindly furnished from the official reports by Mr. K. Ito, president of the Hokusui Kyokwai, or Northern Fisheries Society :

FISHERIES OF YEZO—PRODUCTION OF 1886.

Fish.	Production.	Where exported.
	Koku.*	
Spring salmon, Masu, salted	5, 929, 480	Main island.
Fall salmon, Sake, salted	119, 729, 265	Do.
Boche de mer, Iriko	1, 627, 580	197,311 cattiees sent to China.
Seaweed, Kombu	186, 373, 249	29,650,567 cattiees sent to China.
Oysters, dried	4, 773, 040	All sent to China.
Fish guano:		
Herring	572, 374, 301	(Other islands of Japan.
Salmon, Masu	15, 511	Do.
Iwashi (<i>Osteos melanostrotus</i>)	22, 240, 200	Do.
Other kinds	14, 593, 711	Do.
Fish oil:		
Herring	7, 006, 905	Unknown amount exported to United States.
Iwashi	665, 600	Do.

* One koku of fish is about 333 pounds. One koku of oil is about 40 gallons.

THE AINOS.

The Ainos are a peculiar race, quite distinct from the Japanese now found; a mere remnant of a once numerous people in Yezo and on the islands Kumashiri and Yeterof. The application of the name Aino requires to be more carefully restricted than it has been. In Yezo we

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or goi-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smoldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

961
[582] Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region¹ are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

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AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKOBETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

291 rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. 283
227 The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

¹[i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

177 or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and
34 compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a
743 stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese
177 language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian,
191 besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday,
177 the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-
794 nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does
not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day,
and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of
them would think of leaving church before service is over; but
one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully
Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round!
The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of
their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have
fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas
and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each
177 individual was a curious and enviable combination of a
197 perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what
suited him or her better at the time being. In other words,
they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one
of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other
was deficient.

●161 As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan,
but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island.
A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was
indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before
164 all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism
have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from
now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be
left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these
independent people will end their days secluded and in exile
on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

184 As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a character-
157 istic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what
they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the
formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are,
however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress
1302 their hair in small tresses.

mainly to the great increase of mortality in children during the last two generations. The sadness which seems to oppress the Ainu, and which we see depicted on the face of each individual, is nothing but the outcome of this degeneration of the race. As a race the Ainu will soon be extinct. I dare say that in fifty years from now—probably not so long—not one of the hairy savages, who were once the masters of Sakhalin, Yezo, the Kuriles, Kamschatka, and the whole of the southern Japanese Empire, will be left. Not one of these strange people—soft, good, and gentle, but savage, brave, and disreputable—will live to see their country civilised; and in the life which they have led of filth and vice they will die in front of that greater scourge, civilisation, leaving behind no traces of themselves, of their past, of their history, nor of their present—nothing but a faint recollection, a tradition, that in Yezo and the Kuriles died the last remains of those curious people; the Hairy Ainu.

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INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30' N. and 45° 30' N. and 140-145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5.2° C. and 7.6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

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I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

101 The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin,
131 and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a,
142 p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow
• 161 heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hok-
kaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure
which has remained almost stable since 1854¹⁾.

131 Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmon-
dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland be-
tween circ. 41°30'N and 45°30'N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip
of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast
132 of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The an-
nual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C.
in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteorol., p. 8). There is a long
season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteorol., p. 34 and pp.
36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The
monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate
below 0°C. for the four months from December to March²⁾. Apart from some
local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly
the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro
137 Sakkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern
part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern
part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs,
Abies sachalinensis and *Picea jezoensis* (MURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)³⁾.

133 From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills
and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-
level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among
these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306
km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr.,
136 p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, *Oncorhyn-
chus masou* and *O. keta*, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA,
1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are
brown bear, *Ursus arctos*, and deer, *Cervus nippon* (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI,
433 1933, 1934 and 1952⁴⁾. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and
fishing, and also collected wild plants.

[p. 83]

NOTES

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(1) Population of The Ainu†

Date of Census			Number of Ainu Houses	Ainu Population	Average Inhabitants per House
1804	Hokkaido	East Ainu†† Territory	2927	12753	4.36
		West Ainu Territory	?	8944	
		Total		21697	
1822	Hokkaido	Saghalin	?	2100	
		East Ainu Territory	2624	12028	4.58
		West Ainu Territory	2125	9121	4.29
		Total	4749	21149	
1854	Hokkaido	Saghalin	357	2571	7.20
		East Ainu Territory	2280	10883	4.77
		West Ainu Territory	1127	5253	4.66
		Total	3407	16136	
		Saghalin	373	2669	7.16
1873	Hokkaido	Ishikari†††	140	576	
		Shiribeshi	255	1005	
		Woshima	65	259	
		Ifuri	863	3537	
		Hitaka	989	5048	
		Tokapchi	275	1449	
		Kusuri	349	1576	
		Nemoro	120	480	
		Kitami	333	1393	
		Teshio	117	507	
		Total	3506	15830	4.52
		Chishima (Kurile Islands)	93	442	4.75

† Source: census data given in Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145 and p. 148.

†† For details on East and West Ainu Territories see Note 6.

††† Names of administrative divisions of Hokkaido established by law enacted in 1869.

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149). 161

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory 162 127

an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers.

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is available for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

(2) Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hokkaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteorol., p. 8). 132

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	-3.4	-2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	-0.7	8.5
Urakawa	-9.5	-3.2	-0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	-0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	-9.4	-8.4	-3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	-5.0	5.7
Obihiro	-9.8	-8.9	-3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	-5.4	5.5
Kushiro	-7.1	-6.7	-2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	-3.3	5.2
Suttu	-3.5	-2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	-9.3*	7.6
Sapporo	-6.6	-5.1	-1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	-3.0	7.4
Uhoru	-5.7	-5.4	-1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	-2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	-5.8	-5.8	-1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	-3.3	6.3
Abashiri	-6.8	-7.3	-3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	-3.3	5.2
Nemuro	-5.0	-5.7	-2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	-1.4	5.5

(3) So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of 137

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brought about by Orthodox Christian missions. Unlike most other peoples of the Soviet Far East the Aleuts of the Commander Islands had been completely Christianized. In the first five years of the Soviet régime there was one church on Bering Island and another one on Medny. By 1934 the church of Bering Island was closed and that of Medny was reported as 'no longer functioning'. An increasing number of voices could be heard, said an official report, urging that the church building should be used for 'cultural needs'.⁴⁰ Such 'spontaneous popular movements' for the closing down of churches have often been reported from many parts of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, it is true that the percentage of communist party members in the Aleutian National District is higher than in any other territorial unit, not only in the Far East but in the whole of the U.S.S.R. 35 per cent of the population is organized either in the Communist Party or in the Communist Youth League, according to the latest figures available.

Before the war the local Soviet authorities of the Commander Islands were composed exclusively of natives. However, no undue significance should be attached to this fact, since the Aleuts as a people are half-Russianized, and Russian is the official language in the District. The Aleutian language, which is used by the Soviet Aleuts in their homes and for private conversation, is actually a mixture of Aleutian and Russian, in which Aleutian endings are added to Russian words.⁴¹ Moreover, the inhabitants of the two Commander Islands speak different Aleutian dialects and can converse with each other only in Russian. Russian is also the language in which a small newspaper is printed on Bering Island for the benefit of the Aleuts and the handful of Russians who are all working on the blue fox State farm 'Komodor'. The name of the paper is *The Aleut Star*. Its sub-title shows that the Commander Islands, despite their tiny population, have a highly organized political life. It reads as follows: 'Organ of the Aleutian District Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, the District Executive Committee and the District Trade Union Council.'⁴²

In the post-war period considerable attention has been paid to the Commander Islands in connection with the 'cold war'. Their population seems to have increased. An official Soviet report of November 1949 said that the islands had several seven-year schools - only two schools had existed before the war - and that many prefabricated houses had been shipped from the continent.⁴³

AINU, RUSSIANS AND JAPANESE

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When occupying Southern Sakhalin in 1945, the Soviet authorities took charge not only of a large Japanese population, but also of small

THE ABORIGINES OF THE SOVIET FAR EAST

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.⁴⁴

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Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.⁴⁵

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In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.⁴⁶

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Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.⁴⁷ Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

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* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu ABC

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4. Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht." etc.,
op. cit., p. 106. A. Brylkin, "Pis'ma
s" Sakhalina" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp.
Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk,
1864, p. 4).

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traveled on the island (1860), he found that the Japanese had
already advanced along the west coast to the boundary of the
Ainu territory proper. Their northernmost settlement was in
Ustomonaipu in the Bay d'Estaing, but their fisheries extended
even farther to the north, for in Urotzi he saw a large ware-
house for salted salmon, which had been erected by them,
and still farther beyond that, north of the Ainu village of
Orokes on Cape Chazkopespo, he met Japanese who had erected
a bark hut for a temporary stay and were engaged in collecting
and drying seatang, Laminaria esculenta (5). Orokes, however,

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5. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," etc., op.
cit., pp. 73-77.

as we saw above (6), is the northernmost village with a pure Ainu

6. See above, p. 32.

population; to the north of it there is a rather desolate coastal
stretch which separates the Ainu area from that of the Gilyak,
and beyond this, beginning with Pilja-wo, there are villages
with a mixed population of Gilyak and Ainu, in which the latter
can only be regarded as isolated here because of the Japanese.
/77/ Thus, as early as 1860 the Japanese had reached their goal
along the west coast of Sakhalin, if they did not also intend to
expand into Gilyak territory.

Only a little later they obtained the same position on the
east coast. In 1860 their northernmost point there was Mogun-
kotan (1). During the summer of 1861 they already occupied

1. Brylkin, op. cit., p. 20.

SS. /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G. The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the
Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River,
between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/
Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without
people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only
temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for
the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, im-
mediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS. In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this
phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
162 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
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1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

SS that in the course of time their number there increased con-
162 siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
G hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
131 that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
161 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
648 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
161 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

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2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.

SS	/318 cont./	
161	Gilyak	in 39 villages (26 on the right bank and 13 on the left) 1400 souls
114	Manguntsen (Olcha)	in 40 villages (36 on the right bank and 4 on the left) 1300 souls (3)
161	Goldi	in 114 villages (77 on the right bank and 37 on the left) 3200 souls
361	Nomadic and dispersed tribes	2000 souls

3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda, on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

on the basis of notes taken in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

A /318 cont./

6. (cont.)

das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographi-
 cal Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn.
 des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the
 same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four
 Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the
 Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf.
 Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241)
 gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

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161 These statements

114 referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge
 162 of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other
 hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious.

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 (101) They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to
 have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the
 Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical
 Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data
 could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method
 since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peo-
 ples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their
 northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously
 demarcated by the Russians (1). At that time, moreover, people

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1. For more details concerning this, see
 pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there
 were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

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2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the
 Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above,
 p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and
 winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the
 villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,